/682 cont./

593 Bridges' (h):210 words, "...in general family life is happy and correct" /translated from Spanish/, apply to the relations between the two spouses. They are attached to each other by genuine love. Affection and the desire for love brought them together in marriage, and the things they have done for each other have constantly increased their mutual esteem, so that after a few years they consciously or unconsciously live for one another's happiness (74). They exchange their thoughts and plans; they

74. According to Lovisato's (b):146 unauthoritative opinion, the wife of a Fuegian means no more to him than "a means for having children; we cannot say that she is the equal of the man, not even his slave, although she is given the most painful work" /translated from Italian/. Hyades (p):332, on the other hand, says: "The woman whose conduct is good is independent and respected" /translated from French/. This is the truth!

discuss their own experiences and their observations of their children; they avoid being separated for long and are filled with bitter sorrow if one of them falls sick or dies. From time to time 593 one of them will make the other happy with some surprise or will 201 express the customary, very modest but always effective tenderness. This is limited to a gentle stroking of the cheeks or individual parts of the body, or they lean their head together and move close to each other (75). Everyone is very receptive toward

75. From this account one should correct what Spegazzini (a):166 maintained: "... caresses and kissing are completely unknown among these people" /translated from Spanish/. Parents are certainly not sparing with kisses for their infant (p. 514).

/682 cont./

593 demonstrations of love on the part of his spouse (76), the one

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76. Hyades (d):308 confirms that "the Fuegians are very capable of feeling love and jealousy" /translated from French/.

more, the other less, according to personal inclination. In this respect Mary seemed to me most conspicuously tender and solicitous of her Robert, whereas not the least reason why old Pedro curtailed all social intercourse with other families was because he wanted to belong only to his very jealous wife (77).

77. Our Fuegians avoid passionate outpourings of emotion. If Lovisato (b):146 had been aware of this, he would never have come to the false conclusion that "conjugal love does not exist" /translated from Italian/.

833 According to the reliable intimations that I received, the Yamana practice moderation in their sex life and perform the sexual act in /683/ the normal position (78). To maintain that

78. Hyades (q):187 confirms that "among adult Fuegians sexual functions are performed with moderation...The women are as moderate as the men in their demand for sexual pleasure" /translated from French/.

this is the influence of their diet is probably inadequate; there is a greater effect from the constant cool and damp atmosphere than many people suspect. Also it should be noted that the man and wife tire themselves physically almost every day. If they are very weary, they abstain from sexual pleasure and make up for it when they rest for a few days at one place (79).

79. A false statement by Bove (e):158, quoted in footnote 38, is further exaggerated by Lovisato (b):150 in the following

/714 cont./

854 her suggestions if it is required for the child's welfare. His wife becomes even dearer to him because of her efforts and care for the child, and from one confinement to the next he appreciates her more. This increases the regard for her among the whole family.

854 Once more we should like to emphasize that children are the joy of their parents' life. This is what Hyades (p):331 means when 201 he says: "Parents love their children very much" /translated from French/. His assertion, "They caress them very rarely, practically never /translated from French/, is, however, false. True, in another place Hyades (f):586 is right when he says, "they do not know how to kiss" /translated from French/, but parents frequently do press their mouths or their entire faces against the head and face of the infant, pick it up with both hands under its shoulders and lift it high, pass their fingers playfully over its entire body when it lies on its back, and finally provide it with all kinds of happy visual impressions by means of pantomime. They also give their darling a real kiss, ūpášu, on the /715/ cheeks, which has been customary since ancient times between parents and their newborn child -- not, however, between adults. By and large, they dandle and play with their small child exactly the way European parents do. With them, however, all this goes on soundlessly, and they are less tempestuous in their caresses. For the sake of the baby, the parents carefully observe all the restrictions imposed on them before and after confinement (140). The death of a child is viewed as an irreplace-

140. Bridges (a):183 reports: "Should a sucking child fall sick, its sickness is sure to be attributed to something the mother has eaten, who, under these circumstances, does not eat whale blubber" /cited in English/.

able loss.

736 If a mother dies soon after her delivery, another woman will 854 be most willing to take charge of the orphaned baby immediately. Almost always this is done by one of the closest relatives, usually an aunt. The father actually does not have to bother about finding a nurse himself. Purely out of sympathy for the orphan, many women vie for it. No matter who takes it, it is just as safe and well

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881 577 is why almost all the adults can recall without a gap the exhortations that they received when they were candidates. Compare the examples given above on page 724.

881 577 524 Their own desire is directed toward undisturbed self-reflection which is possible only through an enduring silence. Long conversations in the čiéxaus hut are not permitted. One may say whatever is necessary, but always briefly and in a low voice. This is done in such a way that it hardly seems as though a person is requesting something of another or asking his neighbor for something. Persons who are sitting farther /909/ apart resort to [201] unobtrusive signs. The čiéxaus hut is not the place to have a heart-to-heart talk or to chat. Nevertheless, since olden times it has been regarded as proper for related persons or friends to visit with each other, and during the first few days most of those present take advantage of this freedom. One person will leave his place and sit beside the person with whom he wishes to talk. He chats inconspicuously and in a very low voice, afterwards creeping back to his place. The hours just before and after the noon hour are chosen for these visits, but the conversation is usually terminated after a brief hour.

A person addressed by an outsider sometimes lets him know how annoyed he is to have been torn from meditation. He will answer briefly without relaxing his attitude of concentration. To begin with everyone is careful never to approach a person unless it is absolutely necessary. The late afternoon hours until shortly 881 577 before the nocturnal dances and games are a period of especially serious concentration. This is also the time for the instruction of the candidates, during which the adults, without exception, are very quiet. During the forenoon when the ulúala are sometimes practicing outside the Great Hut or are busy getting food, one or another of the old people will devote himself to some minor manual occupation, and some of the women will occasionally look after things in their dwellings. Inside, however, the same calm prevails as during the afternoon, and anyone meditatively pursuing his own thoughts will not be disturbed.

881 577 516 As for the candidates, they are expected not to move at all (p. 707). Even the adults, however, maintain an almost motionless

/909 cont./

X881 S77 516 posture. Everyone stays in the seat he chose for himself at the beginning, where he remains quietly and stiffly, avoids all unnecessary movement, and almost continuously stares into space in front of him. He does not turn his head in all directions nor does he move his whole body back and forth. Even at night when the dances are going on, no matter whether a single person is moving about or several at a time, some persons continue to concentrate in their squatting position and do not even lift their eyes. A person who is doing some urgent manual work avoids making any kind of noise or noticeable movement. If someone would disturb his neighbors by making something, he must leave the ξίξαγε hut to do it. The individual has every right to expect that his reflections will not be disturbed in any way by other participants. Everyone is concerned about this even before the start of the affair.

X881 S77 201 With the same purpose in mind, the leader gives his instructions to individual adults only in brief, unobtrusive words or solely by means of signs. All of them are very good at this and there is no misunderstanding. The sponsors communicate with their protégés in the same way; even outside the Great Hut, in the chores and exercises, they limit themselves to only the most necessary words. A /910/ stranger can hardly believe how many thoughts, wishes, and directions these children of nature reliably communicate to one another by means of incompicuous signs.

X881 S77 513 2. Sleeping. In other respects, too, the adults quite noticeably restrain themselves by giving in very little or not at all to comfort. In his own dwelling, as we know, everyone stretches out on his bed as he pleases, rolls from one side to another, and exuberantly extends his limbs in all directions. Here in the ξίξαγε hut, however, a person does not dare behave in even a slightly relaxed fashion. If an old person now and then becomes very tired, he lies down, curls up, and remains motionless. He is gladly permitted a brief rest. Younger people must remain upright during the day.

Our Yamana are unfamiliar with the pressure of a schedule because they are dominated primarily by the mood of the moment. The entire group of participants does not get to sleep until

/1011 cont./

that everybody in the vicinity knows about it. A person who behaves too greedily and hastily at meals, who audibly drinks and smacks, is unquestionably regarded as a glutton and sacrifices a great deal of standing. When one is hungry, he cleverly feigns otherwise and fills his stomach without making his hosts consciously aware of it. Very early Despard (b):680 observed this attractive trait: "They hold gluttony in great abhorrence. In their language the word for gentleman is 'small-eater'" /cited in English/. In this respect they are exactly like the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 474).

When the Fuegians are by themselves, however, or in the small circle of most intimate friends, their great voracity occasionally breaks all bounds, and the sight is sometimes repulsive even to their own countrymen (p. 331). As is well known, they grasp the usually very hot piece of meat /1012/ with their hands, put it to their mouths, and tugging hard, they tear off thick pieces with their teeth. The abundant blubber and meat juice ooze out of both corners of their mouths, and thick drops of it fall on their torsos and thighs. They rub it on their faces and bodies and lick their sticky fingers with their tongues. The scene around a stranded whale is almost disgusting, for everyone discards the customary cautious self-control and stuffs himself with such large amounts that his taut belly stands out prominently. In drinking, which was formerly limited to water, no one need restrain himself. The Yamana drink large quantities daily.

Ordinary visits are quiet and without ceremony. The visitor enters the hut, looks around, and sits down near the fire. Considerable time goes by before the owner of the hut addresses him, and then there is another interval before the visitor consents to converse or to make known his reason for coming. He leaves again just as wordlessly. Certain forms of greeting, however, are customary among them (432): when they are separating to go long

432. Therefore I reject what Spegazzini (a):166 says, for example, and what Despard (b):696 maintained in the following words: "There are no gestures of affection amongst them; they neither kiss, rub noses, nor shake hands. Nevertheless, the affection exists, and is strong" /cited in English/. The former

/1012 cont./

however, admits: "Although there are no manifestations of love, neither kisses nor caresses, it nevertheless is much in evidence" /translated from Spanish/.

distances, when they have not seen each other for a long time, when they pass each other in their canoes without stopping, and when they have spent some time together happily. Intimate friends, whether men or women, rush impetuously toward each other after a long separation, embrace enthusiastically, and shake each other with impulsive hugs. They utter only sounds of joy, not definite words of greeting, until they let each other go. Snow: I, 346, for example, experienced the heartiness of their embrace: "It was in their friendly hugs that I felt most of their power, and the unpleasantness of too close a contact. The strength displayed in these hugs was greater than I could have supposed. It was, indeed, no joke to have this manifestation of their good-will. It was like being pressed in a wedge" /cited in English/. Adults do not kiss, but even today, just as formerly, women and, occasionally, men press their mouths hard against the cheek of a baby among their relatives. This type of kiss, ûpášu (433),

433. Hence the assertion of Spegazzini (a): 186, for example, or of Hyades (p):334 that "the kiss is quite unknown" /translated from French/ is incorrect. BD:181 translates the above expression as follows: "to make any smacking noise with the lips or mouth, or fingers, to kiss" /cited in English/.

means affectionate intimacy between parents and their darlings (p. 114).

Anyone who takes formal leave says loudly, "hášla, yĕlla, I am going away"; according to BD:183, "I'm off, I'm going away" /cited in English/. According to BD:263, hášla kătakŭa, meaning "I will go, i.e., I will wait no longer, I think I had better go" /cited in English/, is more explicit, as is hášla yellŭa ohŭa. As Bridges (bibl.VII, 118;1872) reliably maintains, /1013/ this is "the only form of farewell known here" /cited in English/.

/1015 cont./

551 If matters pertaining to a specific person come up in the conversation, his name is not mentioned but is indicated by circumlocutions. The Yamana are particularly adept at this. Two men or women are all the more likely to do it when, in low tones, they discuss someone present. A person is never addressed or called by his first name; this also applies to children. People
192 who are fond of each other avoid flirtatious and endearing expres-
201 sions in front of others. Also, no one shows his dislike for another person. The Yamana do not have expletives and swear words. They roar with laughter, double up and roll convulsively on the floor. When they answer in the affirmative, they utter a deep n sound between closed lips and slowly raise their heads; they express a negative with a long drawn-out "bĭf."

576 It is not only improper but very serious to poke fun at anyone
574 present in such a way that he himself becomes aware of it. People who have a guest from distant parts are extraordinarily careful not to arouse the least suspicion that they are disparaging or disdainful about his countrymen or his country. They are governed primarily by the fear that out of revenge for bad treatment the strange visitors might cause them much harm through their yĕkamuĭ at home and might refuse to help anyone from this group who later came to them. They do not have this fear toward children.
522 Since the Yamana /1016/ have a tendency toward ridicule and
576 sarcasm, however, they do not hold back critical and joking opinions in front of those who cannot properly defend themselves. In March, 1923, I had sent a boat from Beagle Channel to the Wollaston Islands with a special message. After a few days it brought back a lad about ten years old, whom Gertie took in temporarily. On the very first evening I saw how all the people present openly made fun of the boy's unfamiliar accent. He spoke the pure southern dialect (p. 200 /untranslated/) of the Yĕšiusinĭala /southern group/. When I expressed my astonishment that they were deviating from their customary behavior, they justified themselves: "That boy speaks a different language than we do. Some words we don't understand. Everything he says sounds so strange that it makes us laugh! After all, he is still young and small, so he can't hurt us if we openly show our amusement!" No one would dare behave this way toward adults from distant regions. When the guests have departed, however, intimate

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153 This healthy curiosity is combined with a goodly measure of desire for knowledge and aptitude for being taught.

151 In the development of their sensory activity the Fuegians by far surpass us Europeans, and the acuteness of their senses sometimes amazes us, as all critics agree. The sharp eyes of the Yamana miss practically nothing, not the least change, no matter how insignificant, along his path, in his tools, in another person. With sure judgment he recognizes the tracks and traces of animals along the ground, as well as the occupants of a canoe appearing on the horizon. His eye is unerring in observations close at hand or at a distance. Even in old age everyone enjoys excellent vision, although some older people become farsighted, so that if they are looking at or working over smaller objects they must hold them farther away from their eyes. The eyes of the natives can stand direct sunlight and strong light from the hut fire far better than would be possible for European eyes. Hyades (f):580 and (p):329 declares: "The Fuegians have satisfactory visual acuity and...they are, in general, gifted with a great power of accommodation" /translated from French/. Darwin (f):I,43 affirms briefly from his experience: "I had ample opportunity to observe the extraordinary eyesight of the Fuegians" (353). Their amazing skill in sign language must also

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353. He (d):239 also says by way of supplement: "Their eyesight was remarkably acute. York and Yemmy both were considerably superior to all the sailors on board; several times they said what some distant object was, and, although everyone doubted it, they proved to be right when the object was examined through a telescope. They were well aware of this ability." Bove (c):155 and others agree.

be mentioned here. In a way unintelligible to others they can reliably send even important messages to a person and transmit them to the person for whom they /1443/ are intended. This explains the mistrust of everyone toward all those who form a

/1446 cont./

435 Europeans, and therefore no one should find it strange that the Indians neither protect nor take good care of costly or rare objects. It is quite generally true that they do not handle their tools carefully or protect them; they carelessly trust their own ability and manufacture what they need without much trouble. Any kind of wealth and an accumulation of objects would be nothing more than a burden to them.

Their material possessions are amazingly meager. Hence
442 they can do without numbers even more easily than without a complicated scale of value. There are definite designations: one = yékáli; two = kompéjpe; and three = máten. In general the Yamana do not count beyond that. They designate anything beyond three as wíwu = much. "Very much" is designated either as wíwu wíwu or čílla wíwu. For an extraordinary amount the expression manána wíwu is used. A few compounds are also used to express numbers above three. They say yékáli yéč, "one hand," and kompáj yéč "two hands," which mean "five" and "ten," respectively. BD:220 gives daneʔi, "a few as from five to twenty" /cited in English/. A few other forms are also given in BD. Constructions such as máten čílla máten probably first arose under the influence of Europeans. Compare Hyades (Q):217. If the Yamana wish to express a figure beyond three, they prefer to use their fingers, and they indicate the number by shaking the specific finger, without forming or expressing a special word for the number. Our Fuegians are unacquainted with measures of length and height. To indicate an insignificant length they make a fist with both hands and, by holding them apart, show the specified length. At the same time they say kaʔémka, from kaʔém = like this here, míka = long. The Yamana do not strive for any particular accuracy either in counting or measuring.

192 A few words that our Indians use as exclamations should be
• 281 mentioned briefly. If they agree with a word or a request, they utter a faint ŋ, without opening the mouth; sometimes they also bow the head slightly. If they are very much interested, they utter a loud ʔíji = good, right, very well; or an excited tas = yes, yes; finally, /1447/ wíč = splendid, excellent. They lack what we imply with "no." If a person does not agree with the words of

/1447 cont./

192 another, he remains silent and motionless; sometimes he turns
281 his head gently to the left and at the same time utters a barely perceptible ɣ. Compare Hyades (q):247.

2. Time Designations

985 The differences between day and night and between one season and the next are too great for our Fuegians not to have designated them with special words. They do not have an expression corresponding exactly to "day"; they use mɨɨlo = light, brightness. From this they derive the much used mɨɨlɨɨlen = daily, and a number of other compounds. Compare BD:251. Although the Yamana do not have a definite division of time in hours, they divide the day into sections of about four hours. They say thóka or mɨɨlo tuyéna for the time from dawn to the time when the sun is about halfway to the zenith, that is, about ten o'clock. The basic meaning of thóka is "dawn." BD: 100 given tuyéna as "to spread as light does so that day is spread about" /cited in English/. This is followed by yihaxopa mɨɨlo, noontide, from ten to two o'clock. Compare yimɨɨs, "to come over..." /cited in English/ in BD:612. Then comes ishiɨ́yana, the afternoon, the time to about six o'clock. BD:181 gives ishiɨ́ara, "to get distant, to go a long way off" /cited in English/. This is followed by yihum ihaxóna, the time of evening twilight until about nine o'clock. The Yamana are familiar with all these expressions.

They also divide up the night. The above-mentioned ihaxóna is followed by ihóla, the time from the first darkness to midnight. This is followed by the period yihaxopa ihóla, from midnight to about three o'clock. Finally there is mɨɨlopa yapɨ́ɨyana, the time when it grows light in the morning, between three and seven o'clock. Although these expressions are universally understood, an expert on the stars will now and then also indicate the time of night by their position in the sky.

The Yamana divide the year into definitely recognizable, though not sharply separated periods which they appropriately call seasons. Nature appears in a different garb four times, the change